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626 681 Such a fear, together with public opinion, took care of many minor offenses which other societies deal with by law and even of some major ones. For the other major offenses, there were various methods of discipline: admonition by the authorities, banishment; supernatural vengeance, and, finally, whipping. We may trace, in the acts catalogued as misdemeanors and in their punishment, two attitudes, the aboriginal and the acculturated, overlapping and combining in various ways.

674 681 From the aboriginal point of view, the major offenses against society were incest (which meant connections with any known relative); the failure of a woman to segregate herself at menstruation or childbirth, and the practise of sorcery. Any of these were thought to bring calamity upon the whole community and if whipping had been a Papago institution, we should expect these to be the first to merit it. However, whipping was rarely mentioned in this connection and the usual punishments were not meted out by man at all but by the supernatural. Families who knew that any of their members 684 were about to commit incest or had done so, dealt with them by moral suasion and, if that failed, took them to the Keeper of the Meeting or the governor. If they still refused to separate, the only punishment was to force them to leave the family group. This was a serious economic misfortune and might be considered a punishment though it was done only to avoid calamity for the family. The offenders were certain to be struck with illness or misfortune by supernatural means.

688 The woman who did not segregate herself brought on her community the danger of flood or lightning and therefore her relatives, and particularly her parents saw to it that she did her duty. If she deceived them, calamity could be averted by her confession and then she was not punished for confession removed the evil influence. But if she did not confess, a supernatural doom would overtake her and some or all of her connections.

683 The sorcerer was treated in an entirely different way: his was the one case where the Papago performed an official execution. It is possible that sorcery was more frequent than other lapses for the Spanish records are full of it, and one Spanish priest is even said to have died of it. But certainly, vengeance in this case was not left to the supernatural though any good shaman was welcome to try and kill the evil one. But when the latter had proved himself a public menace by the number of deaths he was thought to have caused, the council would decree his death and send some young man out with a club to despatch him. Or the villagers all together might lynch him, or several do the work on their own initiative and

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"I can never forget what my father told me," various informants have stated. "I heard it every morning, even before I was old enough to understand." "I was little," said one (26), "and I would go to sleep. Then my father would pinch my ear. 'Wake up and listen. Let my words enter your ears and your head'."

This constant, though unaggressive, repetition of the principles of living must have had, as did the speeches at the council meeting the effect of producing a unity of sentiment in the community as profound as it was unconscious.

GIRLS' PUBERTY AND MENSTRUATION

The puberty of boys was not signalized. For girls, the puberty ceremony centered on obviating the malignant effects of menstruation and, secondarily, on making the girl industrious for the rest of her life.

Menstruation was regarded with horror. The touch of a menstruating woman could weaken a man and take all power from his weapons. The taint of it would cause the deer to avoid a hunter, cause a shaman's crystals to rot and tobacco plants to shrivel up. Therefore, for a menstruating women not to segregate herself was a crime against the community. Men were urged nightly in the council meeting to see that their women obeyed the rule. The punishment for disobedience was usually a supernatural one: lightning or flood would destroy the family of the offender or, possibly, her whole village.

First menstruation was particularly malignant. For announcing it, for having the girl ritually cleansed, and for instructing her as to her future responsibility in the matter, the father and mother were held responsible. In old days a father could be whipped for laxity in this respect, or the mother, if the father could prove ignorance. Mothers watched their girls very closely and at the appearance of first menstruation, the girl was sent to the regular segregation hut. Here she stayed four days. She was given a new pottery bowl and a drinking cup, into which women poured the food which they brought her from the house; she was allowed no meat or salt; she was given a scratching stick and must not touch her hair on pain of losing it.

Generally an older woman relative was appointed as the girl's instructress, though if the family were away camping, the mother would serve. The idea was that if the girl practised industry and alertness at this time, she would have those virtues for the rest of her life. She was waked very early in the morning and taken to fetch water and wood, a Papago woman's chief duties. She might

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When I was nearly as tall as my mother, that thing happened to me which happens to all our women though I do not know if it does to the Whites; I never saw any signs. It is called menses. 159x 881

Girls are very dangerous at that time. If they touch a man's bow, or even look at it, that bow will not shoot any more. If they drink out of a man's bowl, it will make him sick. If they touch the man himself, he might fall down dead. My mother had told us this long ago and we knew what had happened in our village.

There was a girl once who became dangerous and she did not tell. They were having a good time that day. All the village was planting in her father's field, and he had given them a meal of succotash. They were eating out in the field, her mother was cooking over a campfire. My mother was there and she said this girl was standing with a bowl in the crook of her arm, laughing and eating. It began to rain. The girl and her sisters ran home to take in the bedding, because we sleep out of doors in the summer and it was on the ground. [476] [513]

There was a crash of thunder. All the eating people stood still and then, from the house of that girl they heard a long sigh. They ran there. All the family were lying stunned on the floor, one sister was blind, and that girl was dead. The men dragged the people out into the rain and the house began to burn. "See," said those people, "what has happened to us." Her relatives buried that girl all alone and no one would go near.

Then there was a girl who was going to build a fire, and it seemed that it reached out, and took her, and burned her up. And there was another whose mother was struck by lightning. For it is not always you who are hurt if you commit this sacrilege; it may be any one in your family.

That is why, when the lightning strikes a village, they send for the medicine man to see what woman was dangerous. He summons all the girls and looks at his crystals to see who did it. They do not punish that woman. It is enough to know that she has killed her friends. [678]

Our mothers watch us, and so mine knew when it came to me. We always had the Little House ready, over behind our own house. It was made of some branches stuck in the ground and tied together at the top, with greasewood thrown over them to make it shady. There was no rain then, for it was winter, but it was cold in that little house. The door was just big enough to crawl through, like our house door, and there was room for you to lie down inside, but not to stand up. My mother made me a new bowl and drinking cup out of clay, and put them in that house. When my [343]